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Case Number: 200303979

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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00
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/046W

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O 251408Z AUG 94  
FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9057  
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY TUNIS PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 07 BRUSSELS 09371

DEPARTMENT FOR AF, AF/C AND EUR/NE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, EAID, PHUM, BE, RW, CG  
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PAGE 02 BRUSSE 09371 01 OF 07 251405Z  
SUBJECT: ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE'S 8/23 DISCUSSIONS  
WITH BELGIAN FOREIGN MINISTER ON RWANDA, BURUNDI  
ZAIRE

1. ALL TEXT - CONFIDENTIAL.
2. SUMMARY. MEETING IN BRUSSELS 8/23 WITH ASSISTANT

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ARCHIE M BOLSTER  
DATE/CASE ID: 24 MAR 2004 200303979

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SECRETARY MOOSE, BELGIAN FONMIN CLAES SUPPORTED U.S. PROPOSALS FOR AN INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL FOR RWANDA. CLAES ALSO SAW HELP TO RETURNING REFUGEES AND INJECTION OF SIGNIFICANT NUMBERS OF HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS AS PRACTICAL STEPS THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY COULD TAKE TO AID RWANDA NOW. BELGIUM HAS PROVIDED 15 MILLION BF (APPROXIMATELY 480,000 DOLLARS) TOWARDS THE DEPLOYMENT OF THE FIRST 20 UNHCR HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS AND HAS ASKED THE EU TO INCREASE FUNDING FOR CIVILIAN MONITORS. AN EU TROIKA TEAM WAS TO VISIT KIGALI, BUJUMBURA, KINSHASA, AND PROBABLY DAR THE WEEK OF 8/29. CLAES BELIEVED THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SHOULD PRESS THE GOVERNMENT IN KIGALI TO INCREASE THE CREDIBLE HUTU REPRESENTATION IN GOVERNMENT. BELGIUM HAD ENCOURAGED FORMER CENTRAL BANK GOVERNOR BIRARA TO RETURN. BIRARA WILL REPORTEDLY LEAVE FOR KIGALI SEPTEMBER 2 TO BE MINISTER OF PLANNING. SO FAR, BELGIUM'S ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEES HAD BEEN STRICTLY HUMANITARIAN AND PROVIDED THROUGH NGO'S, BUT CLAES AGREED TO STUDY WHETHER BELGIUM COULD HELP FUND LOGISTICAL SUPPORT (VEHICLES, FUEL) TO THE TANZANIAN AUTHORITIES TO PROVIDE SECURITY IN THEIR CAMPS.

3. ON BURUNDI, MOOSE AND CLAES AGREED AN INCREASE IN INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE MIGHT HELP TO STABILIZE THE  
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SITUATION IF IT WERE HANDLED CAREFULLY. CLAES RECOMMENDED WORKING WITH THE CAPABLE TUNISIAN FOREIGN MINISTER TO SEE IF THE OAU COULD INSERT AN EXPANDED CIVILIAN MONITOR PRESENCE. MOOSE SAID THE USG WOULD TRY AGAIN TO ENERGIZE A PROPOSAL FOR A REFUGEE CONFERENCE TO BE HELD IN BURUNDI. MOOSE REPORTED THAT THE BURUNDIAN FOREIGN MINISTER HOPED FOR AGREEMENT ON THE PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION ISSUE BY AUGUST 26. CLAES MENTIONED THE BURUNDI FONMIN WOULD VISIT BELGIUM NEXT WEEK. MOOSE AND THE BELGIANS AGREED THAT IF WE COULD GET THROUGH THE PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION PROCESS, THE ISSUE OF ACCOUNTABILITY FOR THE OCTOBER COUP ATTEMPT MUST BE ADDRESSED. CLAES BELIEVED THE FUNDAMENTAL GOAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SHOULD BE A GRADUAL REORGANIZATION OF THE MILITARY AND THE GOVERNMENT WHICH WOULD ALLOW FOR PROPER MAJORITY REPRESENTATION.

4. ON ZAIRE, CLAES SAW U.S. AND BELGIAN POSITIONS ON THE

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KENGO GOVERNMENT AS CONGRUENT. BOTH CONSIDERED IT USEFUL TO BOLSTER KENGO'S POSITION IN PRACTICAL WAYS TO ALLOW HIM A CHANCE TO IMPLEMENT A CREDIBLE PROGRAM. MOOSE SAID THE IBRD WAS CONCERNED NOT TO GET OUT IN FRONT OF THE BILATERAL DONORS AND WOULD LIKE TO MEET CONFIDENTIALLY WITH THE TROIKA. MOOSE AND CLAES AGREED A MEETING IN SEPTEMBER MADE SENSE. CLAES NOTED HE WOULD BE IN NEW YORK FOR THE UNGA SEPTEMBER 25-29. TSHISIKEDI MAY TRAVEL SOON TO BELGIUM. IF HE DOES, THE GOB WILL LET HIM KNOW AGAIN THAT IT IS NOT ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT THE STANCE HE HAS TAKEN. SOME TSISHIKEDI ALLIES SUCH AS KIBASSA MALIBA MIGHT BE WILLING TO WORK WITH KENGO. AFTER THE MEETING, THE BELGIANS TOLD US IT IS THEIR POLICY TO GIVE VISAS TO

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MEMBERS OF THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT, WHETHER MOUVANCE OR OPPOSITION, IF THEIR TRAVEL PURPOSE SEEMS VALID. BELGIUM IS NOT/NOT READY TO GIVE VISAS TO MCBUTU, HIS FAMILY, AND ENTOURAGE AND WOULD OPPOSE THEIR TRAVEL ELSEWHERE. END SUMMARY.

5. ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS GEORGE MOOSE, ACCOMPANIED BY AMBASSADOR BLINKEN, AF SPECIAL ASSISTANT ROGER ERVIN, AND POLCOUNS (NOTETAKER) CALLED ON BELGIAN

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FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9058  
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY TUNIS PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE PRIORITY

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ZAIRE

FONMIN CLAES IN BRUSSELS 8/23. ALSO PRESENT ON THE  
BELGIAN SIDE WERE CLAES' CHEF DE CABINET LODE WILLEMS (WHO  
WILL BE LEAVING SOON TO BE BELGIAN PERMREP TO GENEVA), MFA  
SECRETARY GENERAL FRANS ROELANTS, DIRECTOR GENERAL OF  
POLITICAL AFFAIRS FRANS VAN DAELE, AND AFRICAN OFFICE  
REPRESENTATIVE BAUDOUIN FONTAINE.

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PROMOTING RECONCILIATION IN RWANDA: SITUATION INSIDE RWANDA  
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6. A/S MOOSE UNDERLINED THE NEED TO PROMOTE THE PROCESS  
OF RECONCILIATION IN RWANDA, BUT ACKNOWLEDGED THE IMMENSE  
DIFFICULTIES THAT WOULD ENTAIL. ON HIS RECENT VISIT TO  
KIGALI, MOOSE HAD FOUND THE NEW GOVERNMENT FOR THE MOST  
PART SENSITIVE TO INTERNATIONAL CONCERNS. WE NEEDED TO  
WORK WITH THEM TO ENSURE THAT THE POSSIBILITY OF  
RECONCILIATION DID NOT DISAPPEAR. ON THE ISSUE OF  
ACHIEVING ACCOUNTABILITY, THEY WERE OPEN TO AN  
INTERNATIONAL PROCESS TO DEAL WITH THOSE MOST RESPONSIBLE

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FOR ORGANIZING AND INSTIGATING THE MASSACRES AND TO HAVING INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS TAKE PART IN THE JUSTICE PROCESS FOR MORE ORDINARY CRIMINALS. THE RWANDAN LEADERSHIP AGREED THAT IT NEEDED TO STOP ACTS OF RETRIBUTION. ON DEALING WITH THE TWO SETS OF REFUGEES, THE NEW GOVERNMENT IN KIGALI REAFFIRMED THE TERMS OF THE ARUSHA ACCORDS, UNDER WHICH THOSE WHO HAD BEEN OUT OF THE COUNTRY FOR MORE

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THAN 10 YEARS COULD NOT/NOT RECLAIM THEIR PROPERTY.

7. AT THE SAME TIME, THE NEW GOVERNMENT IN KIGALI FACED ENORMOUS PROBLEMS, INCLUDING THE ABSENCE OF ALL THE NORMAL INSTRUMENTS OF GOVERNMENT (POLICE, BANK, CURRENCY, CIVIL ADMINISTRATION). IN ADDITION, IT HAD TO DEAL WITH THE EXPECTATIONS OF ITS OWN PEOPLE WHO WANT TO EXTEND THEIR "VICTORY" IN POLITICAL WAYS. IT MUST COPE WITH A HUGE EXPANSION OF THE RPF ARMY, WHICH HAD STOOD AT 10-15 THOUSAND AT THE BEGINNING OF THE CONFLICT AND NOW NUMBERED SOME 45-50 THOUSAND. MAINTAINING COMMITMENT, DISCIPLINE AND LOYALTY IN THIS GROUP WAS A GREATER PROBLEM THAN THE GOVERNMENT WOULD ADMIT. THE USG HAD HEARD REPORTS OF A FAIR AMOUNT OF RETRIBUTION/REVENGE KILLINGS OCCURING IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE COUNTRY, SOME OF IT ATTRIBUTABLE TO THE RPF ARMY OR RENEGADE ELEMENTS. TANZANIA HAD REPORTED THAT SOME REFUGEES WHO HAD TRIED TO RETURN TO RWANDA HAD TURNED BACK BECAUSE THEY HAD ENCOUNTERED VIOLENCE.

8. THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT SAW URGENCY IN ESTABLISHING A WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL. WE HOPED THE UN COMMISSION OF EXPERTS WOULD ISSUE A SHORT INTERIM REPORT WHICH WOULD RECOMMEND SUCH A TRIBUNAL TO THE UNSC SO THAT WE COULD GET A MANDATE FOR SUCH A TRIBUNAL BY 15 SEPTEMBER. MOOSE COMMENTED USG LAWYERS SAW THE LEGAL ISSUES AND PROCEDURES INVOLVED IN SUCH TRIBUNALS AS COMPLEX, BUT SIMPLE COMPARED TO THE HUGE PRACTICAL ONES, SUCH AS WHAT DO THIRD COUNTRIES DO WITH SUSPECTS THEY DETAIN? CLAES SAID THAT BELGIUM SUPPORTED U.S. IDEAS FOR AN INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL. BELGIAN JUDGES AND PROSECUTORS WOULD NOT BE ACCEPTED AS IMPARTIAL, BUT THE GOB COULD LOOK FOR

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TRANSLATORS, FOR EXAMPLE, AMONG ITS MISSIONARY COMMUNITY.

9. MCOSE EMPHASIZED THAT THE USG WANTED TO SEE HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS ESTABLISHED WITHIN RWANDA QUICKLY. THE UNHCR HAD OFFERED TO DEPLOY THE FIRST 20 SUCH MONITORS, THOUGH AT A VERY HIGH COST OF 2.1 MILLION DOLLARS FOR 6 MONTHS. THE USG WAS PREPARED TO CONTRIBUTE 750,000 DOLLARS TO THIS EFFORT. WE HOPED TO FIND A LESS EXPENSIVE, MORE SUSTAINABLE WAY TO GET MORE SUCH MONITORS

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FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9059  
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY  
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IN PLACE.

10. MINISTER CLAES STATED THAT THE GOB WAS PROVIDING 15 MILLION BF (APPROXIMATELY 480,000 DOLLARS) TOWARDS THE UNHCR MONITORS EFFORT. MONITORS WERE IMPORTANT TO CREATE AN ATMOSPHERE OF SECURITY WITHIN RWANDA AND TO SHOW REFUGEES THAT NOT JUST THE RPF, BUT ALSO UN REPRESENTATIVES, WOULD BE THERE TO GUARANTEE SOME SECURITY. CLAES SAID THE BELGIANS HAD ASKED THE EU TO INCREASE FUNDING FOR CIVILIAN MONITORS. AN EU TROIKA TEAM WAS TO LEAVE THE WEEK OF 8/29 TO VISIT KIGALI, BUJUMBURA, KINSHASA AND PROBABLY DAR ES SALAAM. CLAES THOUGHT THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS WOULD SUBSEQUENTLY AUTHORIZE INCREASED FUNDING FOR MONITORS/OBSERVERS. CLAES ADDED THAT THE UNHCR AND INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY NEEDED TO PROVIDE MORE PRACTICAL HELP IN WAY STATIONS AND ASSISTANCE IN THEIR HOME AREAS TO CONVINCE REFUGEES TO RETURN.

11. A/S MOOSE SAW THE NEED TO GET ELEMENTS OF UNAMIR INTO THE SOUTHWEST REGION OF RWANDA AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE TO TAKE THE PLACE OF THE DEPARTING FRENCH FORCES TO TRY TO PREVENT ANOTHER EXODUS. BUT THIS TOOK UNAMIR RESOURCES AWAY FROM OTHER AREAS WHERE THEY WERE NEEDED. HE QUESTIONED WHETHER THE CURRENT AUTHORIZED LEVEL ON UNAMIR WOULD BE LARGE ENOUGH TO ACCOMPLISH WHAT WAS NEEDED.

12. MINISTER CLAES ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE GOB HAD NOT BEEN  
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VERY ACTIVE IN TERMS OF OFFICIAL PERSONNEL ON THE GROUND IN RWANDA BECAUSE OF THE ANTI-BELGIAN SENTIMENT AMONG MANY (ESPECIALLY THE MILITANT HUTU) IN RWANDA. BELGIUM WAS, HOWEVER, EQUIPPING THE MALAWI CONTINGENT FOR UNAMIR AND HAD PROVIDED MILITARY TRAINERS, INCLUDING IN KIGALI, TO

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TRAIN THE MALAWI ADVANCE TEAM.

13. CLAES NOTED THE GOB HAD EXCELLENT RELATIONS WITH NEW RWANDAN PM TWAGIRAMUNGU BECAUSE BELGIANS SAVED HIS LIFE AND FOUND HIS WIFE AND CHILDREN AND BROUGHT THEM OUT TO BELGIUM TO JOIN HIM. CLAES HAD PUBLICLY MET WITH TWAGIRAMUNGU AS A SYMBOL OF THE ARUSHA PROCESS. HE FOUND TWAGIRAMUNGU A REASONABLE MAN, BUT DID NOT KNOW HOW MUCH CLOUT HE HAD IN THE NEW GOVERNMENT. CLAES BELIEVED THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY MUST PRESS THE NEW GOVERNMENT IN KIGALI TO INCREASE THE HUTU REPRESENTATION IN THE GOVERNMENT. BUT FINDING HUTU CANDIDATES WHO WERE NOT TAINTED WITH THE MASSACRES AND WHO WERE WILLING TO RETURN TO RWANDA WAS NOT EASY. CLAES NOTED HE WAS MEETING WITH FORMER CENTRAL BANK GOVERNOR BIRARA, WHO HAD BEEN INVITED BACK TO TAKE A MINISTERIAL PORTFOLIO. BIRARA HAD AT FIRST REFUSED BECAUSE HE WAS AFRAID AND BECAUSE HE DID NOT BELIEVE HE COULD GET CONTROL OF THE CORRUPTION IN THE SYSTEM. BIRARA HAD AGREED TO WORK WITH BELGIAN BANKING EXPERTS TO PREPARE A PLAN OF REORGANIZATION FOR THE CENTRAL BANK IN KIGALI. (EMBASSY BRUSSELS LATER HEARD FROM MFA CHEF DE CABINET WILLEMS THAT BIRARA HAD ACCEPTED THE JOB OF MINISTER OF PLANNING IN NEW GOVERNMENT IN KIGALI AND WOULD BE LEAVING FOR KIGALI SEPTEMBER 2.)

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AND IN THE CAMPS  
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14. A/S MOOSE RAISED THE DIFFICULT SECURITY SITUATION IN THE REFUGEE CAMPS IN NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES. IN ZAIRE ESPECIALLY, THE STRUCTURES OF THE FORMER RWANDAN GOVERNMENT AND ARMY REMAINED IN PLACE. INTENSE INTIMIDATION/PROPAGANDA WAS BEING CARRIED OUT. IT WAS IMPORTANT TO TRY TO SEPARATE OUT PEOPLE WHO WERE CAUSING A

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G 251408Z AUG 94  
FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9060  
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY  
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SECURITY PROBLEM WITHOUT PROVOKING NEW CRISES. EVEN IN  
TANZANIA, GETTING A HANDLE ON THE SECURITY PROBLEM WAS  
DIFFICULT. SECURITY IN THE REFUGEE CAMPS WAS WORSE IN  
ZAIRE BECAUSE OF THE GOZ'S ALMOST TOTAL LACK OF CONTROL  
OVER ITS OWN MILITARY. HOW TO DEAL WITH THE REMNANTS OF  
THE FORMER ARMY AND GOVERNMENT, STOP HATE RADIO  
BROADCASTS, AND APPROACH THE ISSUE OF ARRESTING THOSE

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ACCUSED OF FOMENTING THE MASSACRES REMAINED  
PREOCCUPATIONS.

15. A/S MOOSE SAW THE EFFORTS BOTH WITHIN RWANDA AND IN THE REFUGEE CAMPS AS DIRECTED AT BREAKING THE CYCLE OF RETRIBUTION, VIOLENCE AND CIVIL WAR. IF THE ISSUES OF JUSTICE FOR THOSE WHO INSTIGATED THE MASSACRES AND SECURITY FOR THREATENED POPULATIONS IN THE CAMPS AND IN RWANDA COULD NOT BE ADDRESSED SUCCESSFULLY, IT WAS NOT HARD TO IMAGINE THAT NEW GUERRILLA CAMPS COULD BECOME ESTABLISHED OUTSIDE RWANDA OVER THE NEXT FEW MONTHS.

16. WHILE NOTING BELGIUM'S SPECIAL PROBLEMS WITH PROVIDING OFFICIAL PERSONNEL FOR THE CAMPS (ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS THE ICRC HAD TOLD THE BELGIANS THAT THEIR PRESENCE COULD INCREASE RATHER THAN CALM TROUBLES), CLAES TOLD MOOSE THAT THE BELGIAN SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DEVELOPMENT HAD NEGOTIATED A BILATERAL AGREEMENT WITH TANZANIA TO ASSIST THE REFUGEES THERE. BELGIUM WAS ALSO PROVIDING NEW STRUCTURAL ASSISTANCE TO TANZANIA AND KENYA. A/S MOOSE :

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MENTIONED A TANZANIAN GOVERNMENT REQUEST TO THE USG FOR ONE MILLION DOLLARS TO PROVIDE LOGISTICAL SUPPORT (VEHICLES, FUEL ETC.) TO SUPPORT TANZANIAN SECURITY IN THE REFUGEE CAMPS. CLAES NOTED THAT SO FAR BELGIUM'S BILATERAL ASSISTANCE IN THE CAMPS HAD BEEN STRICTLY HUMANITARIAN AND PROVIDED THROUGH NGO'S. HE AGREED, HOWEVER, TO STUDY WHETHER BELGIUM COULD HELP PROVIDE MONEY TO TANZANIA FOR SUCH SECURITY LOGISTICAL SUPPORT.

17. CLAES AGREED THAT THE CONCENTRATIONS OF FORMER FAR FORCES IN ZAIRE WERE TROUBLESOME. THESE FORCES HAD TAKEN MONEY WITH THEM FROM KIGALI AND COULD BUY MORE ARMS. THIS WAS A DELICATE POLITICAL PROBLEM WHICH WOULD HAVE TO BE DISCUSSED WITH MOBUTU. WILLEMS ASKED MOOSE IF ANYTHING HAD COME OF THE AMERICAN EFFORT TO GET MOROCCAN TROOPS INTO THE CAMPS IN ZAIRE TO HELP PROVIDE SECURITY. MOOSE SAID THE MOROCCANS HAD DECLINED OUR REQUEST. HE ADDED THAT IN PARIS HE WOULD BE ASKING WHETHER THE FRENCH COULD LEAVE A FEW HUNDRED TROOPS IN GOMA TO SUPPORT THE UN RELIEF OPERATION BY PROVIDING SECURITY. OF COURSE, THE RPF SUSPICION OF THE FRENCH WOULD HAVE TO BE DEALT WITH IF THE FRENCH AGREED. A UNAMIR ROLE COULD BE CONSIDERED, BUT

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MOOSE WONDERED WHETHER THE UNSC WOULD AUTHORIZE AN  
EXPENSIVE EXTENSION OF UNAMIR TO PROVIDE SECURITY IN THE  
CAMPS.

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DEFUSING BURUNDI  
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18.. MOOSE AND CLAES AGREED THAT AN INCREASE IN THE  
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INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE IN BURUNDI MIGHT HELP TO STABILIZE  
THE SITUATION THERE. SOME OF THE SUGGESTIONS MADE  
RECENTLY IN THE UN, HOWEVER, SUCH AS THAT FOR A  
PRE-EMPTIVE DEPLOYMENT OF TROOPS, MIGHT ACTUALLY BE  
DESTABILIZING. CLAES RECALLED THAT THE BURUNDI ARMY HAD  
BEEN WILLING TO ACCEPT ONLY 47 AFRICAN MILITARY  
REPRESENTATIVES IN COUNTRY, OF WHOM IT HAD BEEN POSSIBLE  
TO GET IN ONLY 32 TO DATE. CLAES THOUGHT THAT THE  
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY COULD WORK WITH THE OAU UNDER THE

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	SP-00	SR-00	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	T-00
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O 251408Z AUG 94  
FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9061  
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY

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AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY TUNIS PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE PRIORITY

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DEPARTMENT FOR AF, AF/C AND EUR/NE

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ZAIRE

CAPABLE TUNISIAN FOREIGN MINISTER TO SEE IF AN EXPANDED  
DAU CIVILIAN MONITOR PRESENCE WOULD BE POSSIBLE. A/S  
MOOSE SAID THAT THE US REPRESENTATIVE ON THE RECENT UNSC  
DELEGATION TO BUJUMBURA HAD COME AWAY BELIEVING THE TUTSI  
MILITARY MIGHT BE CONVINCED TO ACCEPT EXPANDED PEACE  
MONITORS, BUT IT WOULD TAKE EXTENSIVE NEGOTIATION. THE  
POPULATION IN THE COUNTRYSIDE IN BURUNDI IS INCREASINGLY  
POLARIZED AND HAS BEEN SEPARATING PHYSICALLY INTO ENCLAVES.

19. CLAES RECOMMENDED KEEPING PRESSURE ON ALL BURUNDIAN  
PARTIES TO REACH A COMPROMISE WHICH ALLOWED FOR MAJORITY  
REPRESENTATION OF THE MAJORITY. THE 60/40 FORMULATION  
NDADAYE HAD ACCEPTED WAS AN ADVANCED, PROGRESSIVE ONE.  
CLAES ASKED ABOUT THE HEALTH OF THE INTERIM PRESIDENT.  
MOOSE SAID HE HAD FOUND HIM ALERT AND INTELLIGENT BUT  
WEARY, FEARFUL, AND NOT STRONGLY MOTIVATED TO ACT.

20. CLAES TOLD MOOSE THAT THE BURUNDI FOREIGN MINISTER  
WOULD BE VISITING BRUSSELS NEXT WEEK. MOOSE REPORTED THAT  
THE FOREIGN MINISTER HAD TOLD OUR AMBASSADOR IN BURUNDI  
THAT HE HOPED TO HAVE THE AGREEMENT OF MOST OF THE  
OPPOSITION PARTIES AND THE MILITARY ON THE SUCCESSION  
ISSUE BY AUGUST 26. HE HAD ASKED WHAT THE BURUNDI  
GOVERNMENT COULD EXPECT FROM THE USG IF THERE WERE OPEN

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OPPOSITION TO THE AGREEMENT. WOULD THE USG BE WILLING TO  
SUPPORT THE TANZANIAN MILITARY IN AN INTERVENTION TO  
SUPPORT THE AGREEMENT? THE USG HAD HAD TO DISABUSE THE  
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FOREIGN MINISTER OF THIS NOTION.

21. ACCORDING TO MOOSE, THE SYG REPRESENTATIVE IN BURUNDI  
IS NOW TRYING TO DRAFT NEW GUARANTEES FOR THE MINORITY.  
CLAES TERMED SUCH GUARANTEES "WESTERN TECHNOLOGY" NOT WELL  
UNDERSTOOD OR ACCEPTED IN BURUNDI. HOW WOULD THEY BE  
ENFORCED? CLAES ADDED THAT EVEN IF AN AGREEMENT WERE  
SIGNED AUGUST 26, THERE WAS GREAT REASON TO FEAR IT WOULD  
NOT BE RESPECTED. CLAES THOUGHT WHAT WAS NEEDED WAS A  
STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH TO REORGANIZE THE GOVERNMENT AND  
ARMY TO MAKE THEM MORE REPRESENTATIVE. TOO QUICK AN  
APPROACH WOULD BRING A TUTSI VETO.

22. MOOSE SAID AN ISSUE HANGING OVER ALL THE NEGOTIATIONS  
IN BURUNDI WAS ESTABLISHING RESPONSIBILITY AND  
ACCOUNTABILITY FOR LAST OCTOBER'S COUP ATTEMPT.  
MOUTROS-GHALI BELIEVES THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY CANNOT  
BEGIN TO ADDRESS THAT ISSUE EFFECTIVELY. MOOSE FEARED IF  
IT WERE NOT ADDRESSED IT WOULD BE A HIGHLY DESTABILIZING  
ISSUE. WILLEMS AGREED IT WAS A CORROSIVE ISSUE WHICH HAD  
TO BE DEALT WITH. IF WE GET THROUGH AGREEMENT ON THE  
PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION PROCESS, THIS IS THE NEXT ISSUE  
WHICH MUST BE TAKEN UP.

23. THE USG, MOOSE SAID, WAS WRESTLING WITH THE ISSUE OF  
POSSIBLY BRINGING MILITARY AIR TRANSPORT INTO BUJUMBURA TO  
PROVIDE AID TO THE SOME 200,000 REFUGEES IN BURUNDI PLUS  
HELP FOR DISPLACED PERSONS AND OTHER REFUGEES IN THE  
AREA. HE THOUGHT IT WOULD NOT HURT THE LOCAL SECURITY  
SITUATION TO HAVE U.S. MILITARY PLANES FLYING THROUGH  
BUJUMBURA.

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24. MOOSE ALSO STATED THE USG WOULD TRY AGAIN WITH THE  
UNHCR AND MWINYI TO ENERGIZE A PROPOSAL FOR A REFUGEE

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CONFERENCE TO BE HELD IN BURUNDI. AT THE ARUSHA MEETING,  
IT HAD BEEN AGREED THAT ANOTHER SUMMIT WAS NEEDED.  
PERHAPS A MINISTERIAL MEETING TO PREPARE FOR THE SUMMIT  
COULD ADDRESS THE ISSUES OF REFUGEE RELIEF, SECURITY, AND  
THE RETURN OF REFUGEES AND COULD LOOK INTO WHAT WAS NEEDED  
TO SUPPORT TANZANIA AND ZAIRE.

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	SP-00	SR-00	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	T-00
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FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9062  
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY  
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AMEMBASSY TUNIS PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE PRIORITY

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ZAIRE

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COORDINATING ON ZAIRE  
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25. CLAES SAW THE U.S. AND BELGIAN POSITIONS ON THE KENGO GOVERNMENT AS CONGRUENT. WE RECOGNIZED THAT GOVERNMENT AS AN EXPRESSION OF THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE PRESIDENTIAL MOUVANCE AND THE OPPOSITION. IF THERE WERE LEGAL QUESTIONS AS TO HOW IT WAS FORMED, THEY BELONGED TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURT, NOT THE U.S., FRANCE, AND BELGIUM. BELGIUM HAS ENCOURAGED TSHISHEKEDI AND HIS COLLEAGUES TO TAKE PART IN THE NEW GOVERNMENT. AT THE SAME TIME, BELGIUM WOULD MAKE ITS JUDGMENT ON THE ACTIONS OF THAT NEW GOVERNMENT IN ACHIEVING AUTONOMY IN BUDGETARY AND FISCAL POLICY, CONTROL OVER THE ARMY AND RESPECT OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

26. AFTER ONE MONTH THE RESULTS WERE NOT PARTICULARLY GOOD, CLAES SAID. KENGO HAD PUSHED THE GOVERNOR OF THE CENTRAL BANK OUT, BUT THE MAN APPEARED TO STILL BE MAKING MONETARY POLICY. KENGO WAS TRYING TO GET CONTROL OF THE ARMY. PERHAPS NO ONE HAD SUCH CONTROL. MOST WORRISOME WAS THAT PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN ZAIRE CONTINUED TO BE TOTALLY CORRUPT. CLAES WONDERED IF WE SHOULD WAIT LONGER OR TALK TO THE IMF-IBRD TO SEE IF THEY COULD PROVIDE MORE MEANS TO KENGO. IF KENGO'S EFFORTS RESULTED IN NOTHING, THEN PUBLIC OPINION WOULD NOT BACK HIM. CLAES ADDED HE WOULD DISCUSS THIS ISSUE WITH ARCHBISHOP MONSENGWO WHO WAS

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NOW IN BRUSSELS, BUT HIS ASSESSMENT WAS THAT MONSENGWO HAD WITHDRAWN FROM THE PROCESS.

27. A/S MOOSE RESPONDED THAT THE USG WAS IMPRESSED SO FAR WITH WHAT KENGO HAS ATTEMPTED, INCLUDING HIS CALLING OF AN AUDIT OF THE BANK TO TRY TO ENGINEER CHANGE AND HIS EFFORTS TO DEAL WITH GHOST WORKERS IN THE CIVIL SERVICE. DR. BILL CLOSE, WHO RECENTLY SPENT A WEEK IN ZAIRE AND MET WITH MOBUTU AND KENGO, REPORTED KENGO WAS NOT INTIMIDATED AND WAS AGGRESSIVE IN CONFRONTING MOBUTU. IF THE WEST

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WAITED TO SEE WHAT DEVELOPED, KENGO WOULD HAVE ALMOST NO MEANS BY WHICH TO SUCCEED. THE USG COULD NOT PROVIDE DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE BUT MIGHT BE ABLE TO PROVIDE HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE THROUGH NGO'S IN SUCH A WAY AS TO BOLSTER KENGO'S POSITION. KENGO WAS COMING TO THE UN AND HAD ASKED TO MEET WITH MOOSE IN WASHINGTON. WASHINGTON WAS PREPARED TO ELEVATE THE LEVEL OF THAT MEETING AND WOULD FACILITATE HIS MEETING WITH THE BANK AND THE FUND.

28. MOOSE HAD SPOKEN TO IBRD OFFICIAL KIM JAYCOX WHO HAD BEEN SKEPTICAL NOT SO MUCH OF KENGO AS OF HIS ABILITY TO ACHIEVE AUTONOMY. THE IBRD ALSO HAS A TECHNICAL ARREARS PROBLEM AND WILL NOT ENGAGE IN QUICK DISBURSING ASSISTANCE IN THE NEAR FUTURE. AS FOR PROJECTS, THE PROBLEM OF 70 MILLION DOLLARS IN PROJECTS ARREARS TO THE IBRD WOULD HAVE TO BE ADDRESSED. WITH THE IMF, THE ISSUE OF THE LARGE AND GROWING ARREARS BURDEN WOULD ALSO HAVE TO BE TACKLED, ALTHOUGH THE SUSPENSION ISSUE WAS "IN SUSPENSE."

29. MOOSE SAID AN ISSUE THE IBRD HAD RAISED WAS ITS CONCERN NOT TO GET OUT IN FRONT OF THE BILATERAL DONORS.  
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THE IBRD WOULD LIKE TO MEET CONFIDENTIALLY WITH THE TROIKA. MOOSE THOUGHT IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO DO THIS BEFORE THE END OF SEPTEMBER. CLAES AGREED THAT WAS A GOOD IDEA AND NOTED HE WOULD BE IN NEW YORK SEPTEMBER 25-29 FOR UNGA MEETINGS.

30. CLAES BELIEVED THAT PRACTICAL WAYS NEEDED TO BE FOUND TO STRENGTHEN KENGO TO GIVE HIM A CHANCE OF SUCCEEDING. HE HAD TOLD JUPPE WHEN HE WAS SENDING A REPRESENTATIVE TO

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SP-00	SR-00	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	T-00
USIE-00	SNIS-00	NISC-02	PMB-00	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00

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O 251408Z AUG 94  
FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9063  
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY  
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SEE MOBUTU THAT IT WAS NOT IN SEEING MOBUTU THAT FRANCE  
WOULD STRENGTHEN KENGO. BELGIUM WOULD CONTINUE TO TALK TO  
TSISHIKEDI ABOUT A CHANGE IN HIS POSITION. WILLEMS SAID  
TSISHEKEDI WANTED TO TRAVEL SOON TO BRUSSELS. CLAES  
RESPONDED THAT HE COULD OF COURSE COME AND THE GOB WOULD  
EXPLAIN TO HIM AGAIN THAT IT WAS NOT ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT  
THE STANCE HE HAD TAKEN. WILLEMS ADDED THAT SOME OF  
TSISHIKEDI'S ALLIES MIGHT BE WILLING TO WORK WITH THE  
KENGO ADMINISTRATION. HE MENTIONED KIBASSA MALIBA.

31. ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE DID NOT HAVE TIME TO GO  
OVER VISA POLICY WITH THE BELGIANS IN THIS MEETING. HE

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ASKED THAT POLCOUNS CONVEY TO THE BELGIANS THAT THE USG IS PREPARED TO LOOK AT REQUESTS FOR VISAS BY MINISTERS OF THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT OF ZAIRE ON A CASE BY CASE BASIS AND GRANT THOSE VISAS WHEN THE PURPOSE OF THE TRIP IS LEGITIMATE. THE USG IS NOT READY TO ADMIT MOBUTU AND HIS FAMILY BUT WOULD NOT OPPOSE A TRIP BY MOBUTU OR HIS FAMILY TO EUROPE FOR REASONABLE AND LEGITIMATE MEDICAL PURPOSES, FOR EXAMPLE. MFA CHEF DE CABINET WILLEMS SAID THE BELGIAN POLICY WAS TO GIVE VISAS TO MINISTERS AND FUNCTIONARIES OF THE CURRENT ZAIRE GOVERNMENT, WHETHER MCVANCE OR OPPOSITION, IF THEIR PURPOSE IN TRAVELING SEEMED REASONABLE. BELGIUM WAS NOT/NOT READY TO GIVE VISAS TO MOBUTU OR HIS FAMILY AND ENTOURAGE AND WOULD LIKELY OPPOSE THEIR TRAVEL ELSEWHERE IN EUROPE.

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